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The Maps of Stephen F. Austin:  
An Illustrated Essay of the Early Cartography of Texas

Dennis Reinhartz



## Foreword

The Philip Lee Phillips Map Society of the Library of Congress is a national support group that has been established to stimulate interest in the Geography and Map Division's cartographic and geographic holdings and to further develop its collections through financial donations, gifts, and bequests. The Phillips Map Society publishes a journal dedicated to the study of maps and collections held in the Division known as *The Occasional Papers*. This installment focuses on the maps of Stephen F. Austin and early maps of Texas. Maps, such as those of Austin, have played a key role in the history of exploration, and we hope that this issue will stimulate intellectual exploration in maps of Texas and the American west. The Library of Congress' holdings in these areas are remarkable and many possibilities remain to be discovered.

The paper's author, Dennis Reinhartz, is uniquely situated to elaborate on the maps of Stephen F. Austin. For more than three and a half decades, he was a professor of history at the University of Texas at Arlington, where lectured on the history of cartography, among other interesting topics. Professor Reinhartz is an active "citizen" in the community of map enthusiasts and collectors. Particularly of importance to the Phillips Map Society, Professor Reinhartz forged relationships with Phillips Map Society founding members Virginia and Jenkins Garrett, both of whom lent enormous enthusiasm and knowledge to the development of this unique and amazing friends group of the Geography and Map Division.

The legacy of the late Mr. and Mrs. Garrett is carried on by their daughters, Dianne G. Powell and Donna K. Garrett. Mrs. Powell serves as Vice Chair of the Phillips Map Society. She is a knowledgeable collector in her own right and actively promotes the history of cartography as a member of the Texas Map Society. Her sister, Ms. Garrett, in 1998, compiled an ex-

tensive cartobibliography of early Texas maps in the collections of the Library of Congress. The book, *Texas: a list of early maps in the Library of Congress and a summary of sources of current maps, atlases, and geographic information*, is held by the University of Texas at Arlington. It is an excellent reference tool for this topic.

Texas is also the home of Phillips Map Society Chair George Tobolowsky. His leadership and interest in maps has helped to grow the Phillips Map Society. Mr. Tobolowsky's vision to expand the reach of the Society has spurred us in new and exciting directions. Following Ms. Garrett's work on the cartobibliography of Texas, it was discovered that a number of maps were in need of conservation, and Mr. Tobolowsky generously donated funds for this purpose. This important step has helped to ensure the longevity of these materials, making them available for generations to come.

Ralph E. Ehrenberg  
Chief, Geography and Map Division

## Preface

For thirty-five years, I was a member of the history faculty at The University of Texas at Arlington, from which I retired in 2008. My teaching and research were greatly facilitated by UTA's remarkable Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library. It was through the library's holdings and associated special collections that I became aware of and interested in the contribution made by Stephen Fuller Austin to the mapping of both Texas and the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Over the years, my close personal association with the late Virginia and Jenkins Garrett, as well as with the historians of Texas cartography J.C. Martin and Robert Sidney Martin, who were both in their own times directors of special collections at UTA, deepened my interest in and understanding of Austin. I especially treasured my friendship with Virginia and Jenkins and am indebted to them many times over; so too are generations of my students at UTA and those yet to come.

Austin is best known by many as the "Father of Texas," but what he is less well known for is his role as the father of modern Texas cartography. In the 1820s, he explored, surveyed, and was the first to map accurately a major part of the lands what would become the state of Texas. His cartography had a broader impact, however, as it helped to increase geographic knowledge of the American West in the first half of the nineteenth century.

I am thankful to the Philip Lee Phillips Map Society for giving me the opportunity to elaborate upon Austin's contributions to the mapping of this country.

Dennis Reinhartz  
Professor of History, Emeritus  
The University of Texas at Arlington



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# Maps of Stephen F. Austin



## Introduction

Stephen Austin's 1822 map *Mapa topográfico de la provincia de Texas* was the first widely disseminated map to depict Texas that reached an Anglo-American audience. Austin (1793-1836), known as "The Father of Texas," founded the first Anglo-American colony in the then Mexican province. At the encouragement of the Mexico authorities, Austin began mapping the region that when published, sparked increased Anglo-American immigration, which eventually resulted in political tensions. When the Mexican authorities and settlers were unable to reconcile their differences, white settlers opted for a war of independence. During the ensuing conflict, Austin served as a military leader and, following the successful emancipation, ran for president of the nascent republic. Although Austin lost the election to Sam Houston, Austin served for two months as secretary of state before his death in 1836.

This paper examines the crude and secret maps of Texas before Austin and then traces the impact of his maps. I argue that Austin's mapping was a key element that led to the formation of the Republic of Texas. Included in a separate section is a comparison of three versions of the 1822 map, which comprised Austin's original survey.

## Maps before Austin

At the time of the Mexican Revolution in 1821, there was a paucity of geographic information and cartography about the interior of northern New Spain, a territory that included Texas, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, and Utah; most of Colorado; and small parts of Wyoming, Oklahoma, and Kansas. With regard to the rest of the Spanish Empire in the Americas, this vast northern frontier remained comparatively underexplored and consequently was less well understood, colonized, and administered. **Figure 1** Scientific mapping of this area



Figure 2

was not initiated until the eighteenth century, three hundred years after the first appearance of the Spanish in this part of the New World. By the early 1700s, the settlement of northern New Spain was severely hampered by several problems: a lack capital resources; poor governance; marauding Apache, Navajo, and Comanche tribes; and threats from French, British, and Russian interlopers.

The new and dynamic Spanish Bourbon Dynasty, whose ascendancy in 1700 had precipitated the War of the Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War), almost immediately sought to reform the crumbling empire it had inherited. One of the most substantial steps was the founding of the Royal Corps of Military Engineers in 1711 by decree of King Felipe V. Although the king needed to rebuild his "war torn decadent empire" without delay, "it was not until after the Seven Years War's [French and Indian War] ended in 1763 in Europe that the Corps became truly significant on the northern frontier of Spain's American Empire."<sup>1</sup> The first director general of the Corps, a Flemish nobleman, Jorge Próspero de Verboom, established the Royal Military Academy of Mathematics in Barcelona in 1711. Cartographic instruction was first detailed in a royal ordinance of 1718. Thus, these soldier-engineers were to be well schooled not only in mathematics but in field astronomy and mapmaking, as well.

Near the end of the Seven Years War, France ceded Louisiana to Spain, chiefly to thwart Great Britain, and thereafter Spanish fears of British penetration of New Spain and Spanish Louisiana rose substantially. A defensive reorganization of the northern frontier was deemed necessary. Tours of inspection were undertaken, in which members of the Corps were key participants. These efforts yielded extensive reports with attendant accurate maps that offered valuable data and observations, which reaffirmed Spain's claims to the region. **Figure 2** They included details that were observed directly and mapped precisely, which was an improvement

over the previous reliance on guesswork and unconfirmed reports.<sup>2</sup> This was the beginning of an ambitious cartographic initiative that was not completed under the Spanish or Mexican governments, but only accomplished by the United States after the Mexican-American War in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In this last half of eighteenth century, however, thorough exploration and accurate mapping was perhaps too little too late for the Spanish and Mexicans to aid significantly in the reorganization, reform, and defense of the northern frontier. The comprehension of the interior of Texas, for example, was “vague and imprecise,” and what maps existed pertaining to it were state secrets.<sup>3</sup> This policy of concealment was maintained up to the Mexican Revolution, and much of the later cartography of this period was reflective of this sequestration, particularly of data concerning the interior.

Encountering this issue was José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez, a Mexican-born cleric, scientist, and member of the French Royal Academy of Science, who published his map of Spanish North America, *Nuevo Mapa Geográfico de la America Septentrional...*, in Paris in 1768. Although as a prominent scholar Alzate had been given entree to Mexican archives, “in the Texas regions...the map contained little detail and it was in distorted form,” reflecting how little the official agencies knew about the interior provinces of New Spain.<sup>4</sup> Similarly troubled maps produced by Tomás López de Vargas Machuca, Spain’s most important commercial cartographer of the second half of the eighteenth century, and his sons are short on detail, due to their lack of official archival access.<sup>5</sup>

Vague representations of Texas continued when the great European polymath, Baron Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt, undertook a scientific expedition to the Americas. In 1809, he published the report of his journey, *Essai Politique sur le Royaume de Nouvelle Es-*

*pagne*, and accompanying atlas in Paris, containing his *Carte Générale du Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne*. The English version of the *Essai* and a somewhat smaller map appeared a year later in London. Since Humboldt broke off his trip before actually visiting northern New Spain, his depiction is based solely on older maps such as that of Alzate and on what he found during brief visits to Spain and Mexico. Humboldt, however, was provided with some material by President Thomas Jefferson and General James Wilkinson, the governor of Louisiana; in 1804, Humboldt returned the favor by giving Jefferson an early manuscript copy of his New Spain map. On this adjudged major printed map of the American West, Texas is shown as a part of the *Intendencia* of San Luis Potosí with little interior information beyond the coastal plain.<sup>6</sup> **Figure 3**

American cartographic intelligence about the region of northern New Spain improved dramatically following a happenstance encounter between an American explorer and the Mexican authorities. The serendipitous incident occurred when Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, who was leading a tour of discovery of the southern reaches of the Louisiana Purchase in 1806-1807, was captured by the Spanish near present-day Pueblo, Colorado and moved via Santa Fe to Chihuahua. Upon his release, Pike was escorted to Natchitoches, Louisiana Territory across Texas via San Antonio de Bexar, its new capital. Pike published a full account of his tour with a description of Texas and several maps in Philadelphia in 1810. Pike's *A Map of the Internal Provinces of New Spain* was based on his own surveillances and information garnered from his captor Juan Pedro Walker in Chihuahua. He was also privy to the American sources that were supplied to Humboldt, as well as the map that Humboldt gave to Jefferson. Consequently, Pike's picture of Texas is far more accurate than Humboldt's, specifically with regard to the portrayal of the rivers, but it is still wanting for interior detail.<sup>7</sup> Even given this carto-



graphic record: “When Stephen F. Austin came to Texas in the summer of 1821, he entered a land that was not only sparsely populated but also generally unknown.”<sup>8</sup>

## **Empresario and Mapmaker**

Stephen Fuller Austin was born in 1793 to Moses and Mary Brown Austin in Wythe County, Virginia. This was a mining region where his father was well known in the lead mining business, and his mother came from a mining family. In 1798, Moses moved his family to Missouri in Spanish Louisiana where he had received a *sitio* for lead mining. It consisted of a Crown grant of one Spanish league (4,428 acres) of land on which to settle families for the purpose of extracting lead deposits.

Austin spent his childhood in Spanish Missouri, witnessing firsthand its reclamation by Napoleonic France and, in 1803, its sale to the United States. Eventually, he became a lawyer and served in the legislature of Missouri Territory. He was a circuit judge in Arkansas Territory before moving to New Orleans in 1820.

In the same year, the Spanish government started issuing grants of land to various *empresarios* or “entrepreneurs” in return for recruiting immigrants to establish communities and to develop the land within their colonies. Moses Austin received one of the first Spanish grants for the settlement of Texas. Austin’s substantial grant for 300 colonists (the “Old Three Hundred”) stretched at length to the south and east of present-day Dallas. However, Moses Austin died at the age of sixty in 1821, and it fell to his son to found Austin’s Colony in what soon became Mexican Texas. Consequently, Stephen had to travel to San Antonio de Bexar in 1821 to gain official recognition as the heir to his father’s grant. At that time, the population of Texas numbered about 3,500 people with most of them crowded around San Antonio and La Bahia

(Goliad).

Austin explored and mapped the site of his future colony, going so far as to chart part of the coast and river mouths with soundings from his rented schooner, the *Lively*, which was later used to ferry in some of the first colonists. In January 1822, Austin hired one of the settlers, a surveyor named Nicholas Rightor, to sketch a map of the land between the Brazos and Lavaca rivers, as Austin continued to explore the coast around the mouth of the Colorado in February. Shortly thereafter, the new revolutionary Mexican government required that Austin's grant once again be reapproved, but this time in Mexico City. Although the Mexican government in the short term continued the Spanish policy of *empresario* grants, it nevertheless grew suspicious that the Anglo-American colonies would lead to American expansion into Mexico.

In preparing his various petitions to the Mexican government, Austin secured a copy of *Mapa de la Provincia de Texas* by the Franciscan Father José María de Jesús Puelles in Nacogdoches in 1807. It became an important source for Austin's first "rough sketch" map of Texas, *Mapa geographico de la Provincial de TEXAS, por Estevan Austin, 1822*, a copy that was filed with his application.<sup>10</sup> Austin's grant was finally confirmed in April 1823, and in return, probably to further ingratiate himself, he promised the Mexican government an accurate map of Texas.<sup>11</sup> Austin personally was to receive 67,000 acres for every 200 families he brought to live in the territory. Each adult male colonist was to receive one league of land at the price of thirty dollars, which was to be paid in full in six years. The General Colonization Law of 1824 expanded immigration and created the state of *Coahuila y Tejas* as part of the United States of Mexico.<sup>12</sup>

## The Map that Made Texas

Austin's initial contribution to Texas cartography was the pen-and-ink and watercolor map of 1822, which he filed during the petition process for recognition of his *empresario* grant by the Mexican government. The map extends from near the 104<sup>th</sup> meridian in the west to the Sabine River in the east and from the 34<sup>th</sup> parallel in the north to below the mouth of the Nueces River in the south. The northern and eastern boundaries were roughly those laid out under the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819 between the United States and Spain. While the map covers the area that includes Austin's grant, the Panhandle and trans-Pecos regions of the present-day state of Texas are absent. The various rivers, which are so important in the history of Texas, are placed appropriately, and their lengths were approximated. Beyond his own observations and research, Austin's depiction of eastern Texas reflects his debt to Humboldt and Pike, as does the representation of some of the Texas coast to Puelles. Many towns, settlements, *presidios* (fortified military settlements), Native American villages, and the roads linking them also are shown. In between the lower Brazos and Colorado rivers, Austin labeled his then soon to be approved grant "Austiana, or Austin's Settlement."<sup>13</sup> **Figure 4**

Rivers are the most conspicuous geographical features on Austin's map and are demarcated accurately. Generally flowing from the northwest to the southeast, the river systems of the Rio Grande, Nueces, Colorado, Brazos, Trinity, and Sabine, among others, seem to proclaim the farming and ranching possibilities of Texas and especially the lands of the Austin's Colony. They also can be seen as potential arteries of communication and commerce, leading to and from the Gulf of Mexico, as well as between towns and settlements.

Several important land routes are indicated across the map that mostly cut in an east-west direction. The central road, "*Camino que va a Natchitoches*," proceeds from "*Laredo*" in the



Figure 4

southwest through “*Bexar*” (San Antonio) and Nacogdoches to Natchitoches in Louisiana. A southern road “*Camino de va a los Opeluzas*,” leads again from “*Laredo*” through “*La Bahia*” to Opelousas in Louisiana. And coming from the northwest to intersect the Natchitoches road is the “*Camino de Comanches*,” the famous Comanche Trail first laid down by migrating Native Americans.

As alluring as this map might be to prospective immigrants with its water resources, roads, and towns, it was marked conspicuously with the looming presence of Native Americans. Just below the Lipan Apaches in the northwest of the province, the Comanches dominate the map. In the second half of the eighteenth century, these two tribes formed a persistent threat to the settlements on the northern frontier of New Spain that continued under the Mexican republic. On the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, the “*Carancahuas*” (Karankawas), who Cabeza de Vaca believed were cannibals when encountered three hundred years before, are shown. Across the east the friendlier “*Cado*,” “*Cochata*” (Coushatta), “*Alabama*,” and others also are indicated. And evident on the upper “*R. Nieves*” there is a village of the “*Texas*” (Tejas), the people after whom the province and future republic and state were named. With this prominent representation of Native Americans in Texas, especially the Comanche, Austin was perhaps trying to influence the Mexican government to safeguard his settlement from the Native Americans.<sup>14</sup>

### **Figure 5**

Although Austin was not a trained cartographer, the significance of Austin’s 1822 map of Texas cannot be discounted. Firstly, it was the most comprehensive and current depiction of the province of Texas to date. The Spanish and Mexican administrations simply had nothing like it. Secondly, since it existed in multiple contemporary copies, the information it held became public knowledge quickly.<sup>15</sup> Finally, the 1822 map also laid the groundwork for Austin’s



far more influential map of 1830. The 1822 map and Austin's cartography of Texas that followed quite possibly helped to endear him and his *empresario* venture to the Mexican government, and conceivably serves as an explanation as to why in 1830 further American colonization of Texas was proscribed, but the Austin colony was permitted to remain.

### **The Austin-Tanner Map of 1830**

Austin compiled data and worked on the map he had promised the Mexican government throughout the later part of the 1820s. Under his grant he was required to survey his colonists' tracts of land. He hired surveyors to perform the actual work, and some of the plats and the correspondence relating to them survive in his collected papers at The University of Texas at Austin. So too survives his petition to the Mexican government of February 1825 to build a port on Galveston Island in order to facilitate communications, colonization, and trade. In response, he was commissioned to survey the island, which he did, submitting his report with a map in March 1826.<sup>16</sup> Afterwards, a map known as *TEXAS* appeared in Mexico City in 1826. The lithographic map made by Fiorenzo Galli and published by Claudio Linati was based substantially on Austin's map of 1822. The only extant copy survives at the Barker History Center at The University of Texas at Austin. It is important for being the first printed map of the region.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, drawing on numerous and diverse sources, Austin began working in earnest on his map in 1827, just when the Anglo colonization of Texas was becoming a major point of contention in Mexico City. Consequently, Manuel de Mier y Terán was sent to explore East Texas in 1828 to report on the growing American influence there. Terán had experience in such matters, as he was the Mexican co-leader of the American-Mexican commission that scrutinized the bor-

der between the two countries in 1827. Terán's rather dire account, citing expanding American influence, to Mexican president Guadalupe Victoria stimulated the passage of the law of 1830 that prohibited further American immigration into Texas. Terán brought with him the copy of the Galli map that survives, and it is profusely annotated in its margins.<sup>18</sup> He apparently drew a map of his own, based on Galli's map, to submit with his final report, but it does not seem to exist any longer. Some of its information, however, does endure on Austin's map of 1830. Terán and Austin became "well acquainted" in the new town of San Felipe de Austin, sharing geographical information and perhaps Galli's map *Texas* at this time. Terán became one of the most important sources for Austin's map. Undoubtedly to add to its verity, Terán is the only source listed on the published Austin-Tanner map of Texas of 1830-1840.<sup>19</sup>

Austin finally completed his map in the summer of 1829. The previous year, however, Austin, through a relative in Philadelphia, the attorney Thomas F. Leaming, had already approached the prominent Philadelphia publisher Henry S. Tanner to print and distribute the map. Tanner was eager to publish it, which he did in 1830, and it became the second printed map of Texas. Austin sent a copy of his manuscript map first through Leaming to Tanner in June 1829, and a month later he sent a copy in Spanish to the Mexican President Vicente Guerrero, thereby fulfilling his 1823 promise to his adopted country. The copy sent to Tanner was heavily annotated, especially with regard to resources (e.g. salt), population, and topographical descriptions.<sup>20</sup> He also sent copies to the *ayuntamiento* (municipal council) of San Antonio de Béxar (which had high praise for it and its author) and Terán. He retained a copy for himself. Only the Mexican government and Austin's personal manuscript copies still exist, and they can be found in Mexico City and at The University of Texas at Austin, respectively.<sup>21</sup>

Originally, Tanner's finely engraved (by John and William W. Warr) and tastefully col-

ored 1830 edition of the 76 x 60 cm. *Map of Texas with Parts of Adjoining States* (1:1,500,000) was issued as a more expensive pocket map that would be especially user-friendly for immigrants to Texas. The popularity of pocket maps dates back to at least the second half of the seventeenth century, and this format was created essentially to satisfy the demand created by increasingly mobile middle class Europeans. Pocket maps were constructed from evenly dissected sheet maps; the sections were affixed to cloth or canvas backings (the Austin-Tanner map is in twelve such parts); and they were folded along the gaps between the sections to fit in the more confined spaces of luggage or the coat pockets of travelers. Pocket maps often were fitted with titled covers made of leather or other more rigid materials, which prolonged the life of a given map and allowed users to easily consult them during travel. In due course, the use and increased acceptance of pocket maps crossed the Atlantic to the Americas with the European empires and their journeyers. The Library of Congress has a copy of the 1837 edition, but it is not a pocket map.<sup>22</sup> **Figure 6**

The Austin-Tanner map was a financial success, and it was followed by updated versions in 1833, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1839 and in 1840 in Francis Moore, Jr.'s *Map and Description of Texas*, published by Tanner. However, the publisher feared competition and would not let Austin's cousin, Mary Austin Holley, use it in her book, *Texas: Observations, Historical, Geographical and Descriptive*, which as an early example of boosterism for Anglo-American settlements.<sup>23</sup>

As might be expected, the 1830 map covers essentially the same area and topography as the 1822 map. The Red River is clearly the northern boundary. To the southwest the Mexican states of "CHIHUAHUA," "TAMAULIPAS," and "NEW LEON" have come to join "COAHUILA" and "N. SANTANDER" of the 1822 map. Across the west and the north of Texas, prairies are shown. "IMMENSE HERDS OF BUFFALO" (part of the now vanished



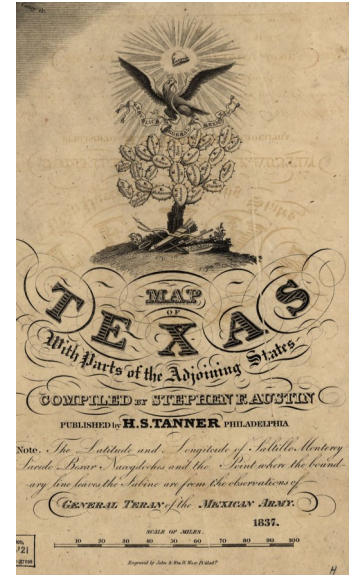
great southern herd) and “IMMENSE DROVES OF WILD HORSES” (left over from the Spanish) are said to be populating those vast grasslands, which are part of the southern extension of the Great Plains. Newly added and labeled is the mixed scrub forest of the “CROSS TIMBERS” in north central Texas in what became the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex. Some of the information from the annotations on Austin’s 1829 manuscript map sent to Tanner have made it onto the printed version. Thus, in the state of Tamaulipas, south of the Nueces River below the “Salt Lakes,” it is indicated on that map that “the Salt Crystallizes in the Bottom of these Lakes in Strata 4 to 6 inches thick. Large quantities are annually taken away without producing any scarcity.”

Of all the *empresario* grants, only “AUSTIN’S COLONY” and the neighboring “DE WITT’S COLONY” (which Austin helped to establish) to the southwest are demarcated. The advancement of settlement to 1829 is apparent. The new hamlets of Brazoria, Gonzales, Harrisburg, San Felipe de Austin, and Victoria appear on the map for the first time, as do some of the roads linking them, but there are few communities and traces west of San Antonio or north of Waco on the Brazos River. The locations of the Comanche, Caddo, Coughatta, and other tribes are marked in a much less ominous fashion than they were on the 1822 map.

An interesting decorative feature of the map is a golden eagle clutching a rattlesnake in its beak just above a prickly pear cactus. This symbol of the Mexican republic dates back to the Aztecs, perhaps even further, and was appropriated by revolutionary Mexico. Above the eagle is the cap of “*LIBERTAD*,” radiating like a sun across Mexico and the world. The eagle proudly and defiantly holds a banner, bearing the name of the “*REPÚBLICA FEDERAL MEXICANA*” in its talons. The paddles or “*tunas*” of the cactus are each labeled with the name of a Mexican state (“*Coahuila y Tejas*” is at the top, directly under the eagle), while at the base of

the cactus further symbols of Mexico's Native American heritage are to be found.<sup>24</sup> **Figure 7**

In the lower left corner of the map, at the southern end of an identified "GRAND CHAIN OF MOUNTAINS," there is a note describing Mexico to Saltillo (Leona Vicario), the capital of the state of *Coahuila y Tejas* since 1824. On post-1830 editions, it is followed by a further annotation that lists the numbers of families allocated to some of the *empresario* grants, including Austin's. Also explained is the holding each colonist family head is to receive and the conditions that must be met under Mexican law to retain the allotment.



**Figure 7**

## Conclusion

Austin's cartography greatly impacted the exploration and settlement of the American West. Austin's maps readily met one of the principal demands leading to their creation: they provided accurate geographical data to facilitate the management of the *empresario* grants and for the commercial development of the land now known as Texas. In so doing, they also helped to underscore the economic potential of Mexico to its immigrants and administration.

This is certainly the case with the Austin-Tanner map 1830, because of its the widespread circulation and popularity. It rapidly increased Anglo-American immigration to Texas and at the same time aroused the Mexican government's fears of growing American influence. It is clear that Austin intended the map to be a stimulus for immigration, but he hoped that the Mexican government, at least initially, would not see it that way. To a large extent, he was right; the government had not expected the intensified immigration in response to the map.<sup>25</sup> But

once the Mexican authority understood the situation, it countered swiftly and harshly, causing widespread discontent among the majority Anglo-American population of Texas, leading to the Texas Revolution in 1835 and subsequent formation of the Republic of Texas in 1836. The independence of Texas and its annexation to the United States a decade later were major causes of the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848. Austin, however, did not live to see the largely unintentional broader consequences related to his cartography.

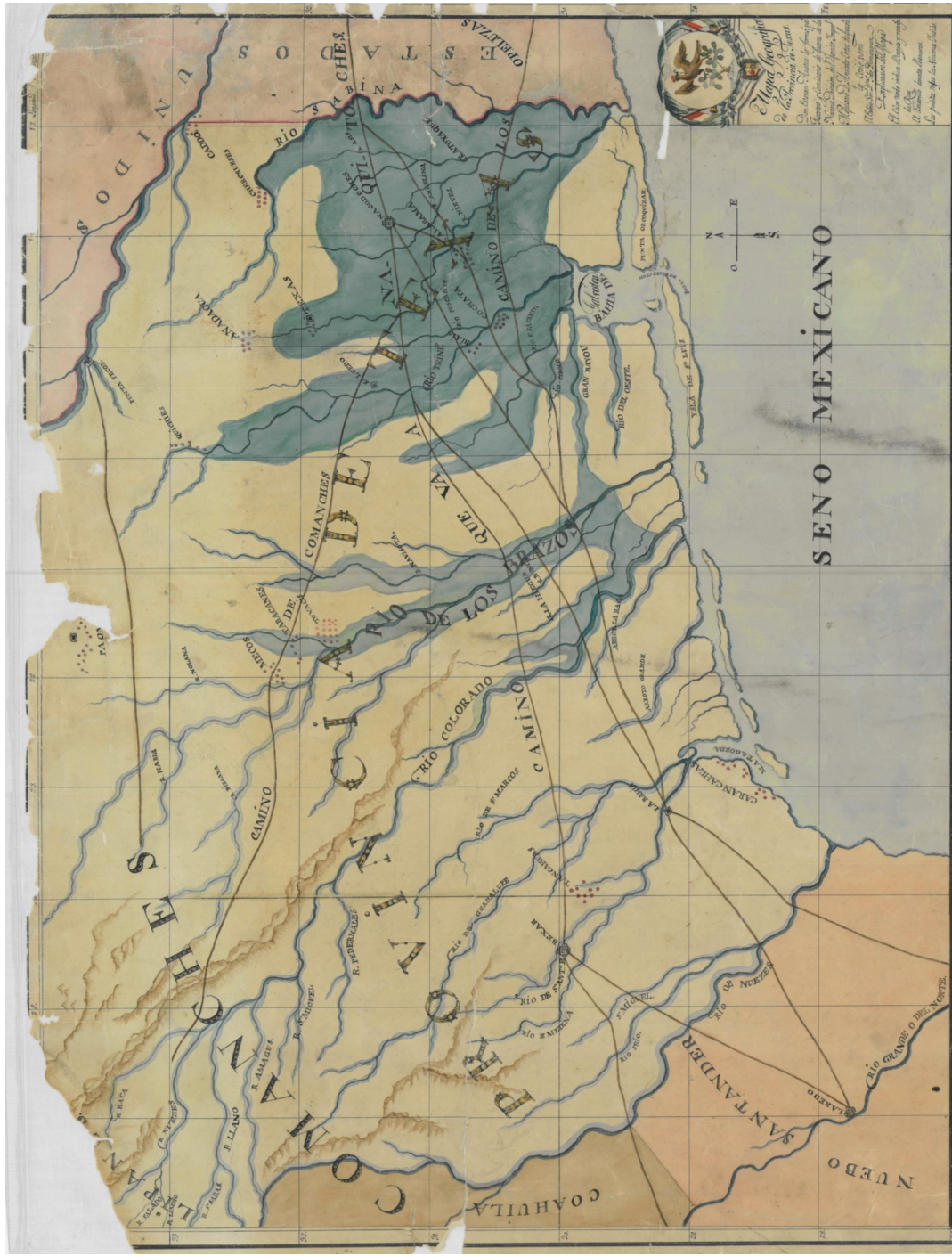
The significance of Austin's 1830 map stretches beyond its political legacy. It was the most detailed and accurate map of Texas to date; moreover, it was the model and source for Texas cartography for more than a decade and a model for immigrant maps for even longer. For example, the influential map *TEXAS* by David H. Burr, geographer to the U.S. House of Representatives and topographer to the U.S. Post Office, published in New York in 1833 was derivative of Austin's map and updated it. Burr also went beyond Austin to show seventeen *empresario* land grants.<sup>26</sup> Thomas Gamaliel Bradford's *TEXAS*, published in his *A Comprehensive Atlas, Geographical, Historical and Commercial* in New York in 1835, drew on Austin's map and reflected its consequences by depicting the surfeit of new settlements created by the waves of immigrants stirred on to Texas by Austin's map.<sup>27</sup>

The mapping program of the United States government also was affected by the Austin-Tanner map. Presumably relating to hydrographic drainage study, in 1839 E. Gilman, a relatively prolific draftsman for the General Land Office in 1837-1850, produced an excellent ink and watercolor manuscript copy (53 x 41 cm.) of the Austin-Tanner map minus everything but the river systems, which is now in the collection of the Library of Congress.<sup>28</sup> **Figure 8** William H. Emory, a young U.S. Army topographical engineer with an exceptional cartographic



### Figure 8

future, still listed Austin's map as a source for his *MAP OF TEXAS AND THE COUNTRIES ADJACENT...*, published in New York in 1844.<sup>29</sup>



### Figure 9

# A Brief Comparison of Three Versions of Austin's 1822 Map



Several copies of the Stephen Austin 1822 survey map survive. Enough variation between them warrants a brief comparative examination. The differences among them is traceable to the fact that some maps were copied by acquaintances to Austin or by those in his employ. Discussed herein are copies at the University of Texas at Austin, The National Archives, and The Library of Congress.

A copy at The University of Texas at Austin (36 x 61 cm.) is believed to be one sent by Austin with his grant application to the Mexican government or a very close duplicate of it. Longitude and latitude are indicated on two of the four sides. Arable and timbered lands are in green, whereas "Prairie" is depicted in yellow. The land is called "TEHAS" and Austin refers to himself as Don Esteban Austin. His settlement is prominently labeled as "Austina." Distances are measured in "leguas" a Spanish unit of measurement, which was understood as the distance a person could walk in an hour.

The National Archives holds a slightly tattered around the edges specimen titled, *Mapa Geografico de la Provincial de Texas. Don Estevan Austin lo formó, y el Tesorero y Comisario de Guerra de la Novena Division del Ejercito Ymperl. Mexicano D. Aniceto Ortiz de Guzmán lo copio para El Excmo. Sor. Dn. José Dominguez.* It was copied for the Mexican Minister of Justice José Dominguez Manso c. 1822, by a Mexican army officer and plainly suggests a trained hand. The official symbol of the Mexican government is prominently displayed in the lower right corner. Since the map, like the Library of Congress copy, was meant for Mexican government internal use. The Austin colony is not represented. The map is situated within a grid and longitude and latitude are indicated on all four sides. The map's history is interesting. It was confiscated by the American army of occupation after the Mexican-American War and brought to the United States in 1848. **Figure 9**

The Library of Congress has a copy titled *Mapa topográfico de la provincial de Texas. Dn. Estevan Austin lo formo*. The 26 x 35 cm. exemplar (1:3,000,000) was accessioned by The Library in 1928. It is possibly the copy sent to Anastacio Bustamante, Captain General of the Interior Provinces, on May 10, 1822 by Austin with comments on how to deal with current Native American problems in Texas. While its provenance is unknown, it perhaps was made by a Spanish draftsman with more of a scientific background than Austin, as hinted by the substitution of “*topográfico*” in its title for the “*geographico*” of the Austin original. The indications of longitude and latitude around all four sides of the Library of Congress copy. In the bottom margin it is specified “*Longitud á Londres,*” that its prime meridian for these measurements is London (Greenwich). In the top margin of the map is stated “*Longitud de Washinton,*” demonstrating that these extents are based on the Washington, D.C. prime meridian. Just to the right of this indication are two more marks, “N.23.” and “V.28.” These might be dates or perhaps some sort of administrative numbers, which may in turn be related to another annotation in the right margin that seems to have faded and is undecipherable. Furthermore, in the bottom margin of the Library of Congress copy it is written that “*El color verde indica bosques y margenes de rios; el amarillo, llanoes; y las pintas roxas, rancherias de indios.*” This translates to mean: “The color green indicates groves and margins of rivers; the yellow, plains; and the red sites, Indian villages.” It is worth noting that a similar statement also appears below the title in the lower left corner on the National Archives copy, but there are no pigmentation references on the earlier map. Understandably, the palettes of the Library of Congress and National Archives copies are much alike, but the color coding coupled with its better condition helps to make the Library of Congress copy particularly attractive.

## Endnotes

1. Janet R. Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands: Instrument of Bourbon Reform 1764 to 1815* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1977), 27.
2. For more on the work of the Corps in New Spain, see: David Buisseret, "Spanish Military Engineers in the New World before 1750" and Dennis Reinhartz, "Spanish Military Mapping of the Northern Borderlands after 1750" in *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-Engineers on the Southwestern Frontier*, eds. Dennis Reinhartz and Gerald D. Saxon (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 44-56 and 57-79, respectively.
3. Robert S. Martin, "Maps on an Empresario: Austin's Contribution to the Cartography of Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* LXXXV-4 (April 1982), 371. I am particularly thankful to Bob Martin for giving me a reprint of this substantial piece of Austin scholarship thirty years ago and most especially for helping me into the history of cartography
4. James C. Martin and Robert Sidney Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1999 [1984]), 101. Albeit printed from an engraved copper plate, Alzate's map may have had limited distribution, and it remains rather rare today.
5. For other examples see: Tomás López y Vargas Machuca, *Atlas geografico de la América septentrional y meridional...*, (Madrid: 1758).
6. Martin and Martin, 109; Dennis Reinhartz, "Alexander von Humboldt, His Earliest Surviving Map of New Spain," *IMCoS Journal* 116 (Summer 2010), 13-18.
7. Martin and Martin, 111; Dennis Reinhartz, "Ambition and Enterprise: Zebulon Pike's Maps Relating to the Exploration of the Southern Louisiana Purchase," *IMCoS Journal* 103 (Winter 2005), 25-37.
8. Robert S. Martin, 371.
9. Robert Sidney Martin and James C. Martin, *Contours of Discovery: Printed Maps Delineating the Texas and Southwestern Chapters in the Cartographic History of North America, 1513-1930. A User's Guide* (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1982), 24.
10. Copies of this map exist in the collections of the National Archives of the United States (Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Records Group 77 Q 38), Geography and Map Division of The Library of Congress (G4030 1822 Vault .A9 TIL), Witte Museum in San Antonio, and The University of Texas at Austin.

11. Robert S. Martin, 373-383.
12. For a map-related overview of this settlement of Texas, see: Richard Bruce Winders, "Colonization 1821-1836" in *Going to Texas: Five Centuries of Texas Maps* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Center for Texas Studies, 2007), 31-40.
13. Robert S. Martin, 379; also, see: Carlos Castañeda and Early Martin. Jr., *Three Manuscript Maps of Texas by Stephen F. Austin* (Austin: privately published, 1930), 12-13 and Martin and Martin, *Contours of Discovery*, 46-47.
14. Robert S. Martin, 388-389.
15. *Ibid.*, 383.
16. See: Eugene C. Barker (ed.), *The Austin Papers*, 3 vols. (Washington, DC: 1924-1928).
17. Robert S. Martin, 387- 389; Martin and Martin, 118-119.
18. Martin and Martin, 119.
19. Robert S. Martin, 385-390.
20. Castañeda and Early, Jr., 35-37.
21. Castañeda and Early, Jr., 18-24; Robert S. Martin, 390-395; Martin and Martin, 121; and Martin and Martin, *Contours of Discovery*, 47-48.
22. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, G4030 1837 .T3 Vault.
23. Robert S. Martin, 395-396.
24. Dennis Reinhartz, *The Art of the Map: An Illustrated History of Map Elements and Embellishments* (New York: Sterling Publishing, 2012), 29.
25. Martin and Martin, 121.
26. *Ibid.*, 123. Interestingly, in Texas map collecting circles, Burr's map is almost as sought after as Austin's map.
27. *Ibid.*, 125.
28. See: E. Gilman, No. 3. *Sketch of Texas, with the Boundaries of Mexican States, as shown on Genl. Austin's Map of Texas*, Published by H.S. Tanner, 1839. G4030 1839 .G5 TIL Vault.
29. Martin and Martin, 129.

## Map Figures

- Figure 1 Nicolas de Fer, *Les costes aux environs de la rivière de Misيسي: découvertes par Mr. de la Salle en 1683 et reconnues par Mr. le Chevallier d'Iberville en 1698 et 1699*, ([Paris? : s.n.], 1701), Library of Congress, G4042.M5 1701 .F4. French map of the lower Mississippi Valley that illustrates the paucity of information about Texas at the turn of the eighteenth century. Interestingly, the map commemorates La Salle's failed attempt at establishing a French colony on the Texas coast that was intended to counteract Spanish influence in the area.
- Figure 2 Jose de Urrutia and Nicolas Lafora, *Mapa, que comprende la Frontera, de los Dominios del Rey, en la America Septentrional*, ([s.n.], 1769), Library of Congress, G4410 1769 .U7 TIL Vault . A large and beautifully drawn map of Northern New Spain accompanying the report of a Spanish survey for reorganizing defenses along the northern frontier to guard against British expansion and Indian raiders.
- Figure 3 Zebulon M. Pike, *A map of the Internal Provinces of New Spain*, (Philadelphia, 1810), Library of Congress, G4295 1807 .P5 TIL. Information on this map was based on Pike's personal reconnaissance of the region, communication with his Spanish captor, and a manuscript copy of a map of New Spain prepared by Alexander Humboldt for the War Department. Although viewed as a slight improvement over Humboldt's earlier map, much of the cartographic information is generalized and inaccurate.
- Figure 4 Stephen F. Austin, *Mapa geographico de la Provincial de TEXAS, por Estevan Austin, 1822*, ([s.n.], 1822). This is the map Austin enclosed with his petition to the Mexican government to legitimize his *empresario* grant, and includes his own observations and research, especially for eastern Texas. Courtesy of the Briscoe Center for American History, the University of Texas at Austin
- Figure 5 Detail of the 1822 Austin map in the Library of Congress placing emphasis on the village of the Texas people, for whom the state was eventually named.
- Figure 6 Stephen F. Austin, *Map of Texas with Parts of Adjoining States* (Philadelphia: Henry S. Tanner, 1837). Although not published as a pocket map, this edition resembles the kind of map that would have been used by immigrants or travelers to Texas. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, G4030 1837.T3 Vault.
- Figure 7 Detail of the 1837 Austin/Tanner *Map of Texas* showing its elaboration on the symbol of the Mexican Republic, with its liberty cap, the banner in its talons, and cactus paddles, each containing labeled with the name of a Mexican state.
- Figure 8 E. Gilman, *Sketch of Texas with the boundaries of Mexican States as shown on General Austin's map of Texas published by R. S. Tanner, 1839* (1839). Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, G4030 1839 .G5 TIL Vault.

Figure 9 Stephen F. Austin, *Mapa Geografico de la Provincial*, ([s.n.], ca. 1822). The map was copied by a Mexican army officer for the Mexican government but confiscated by American troops after Mexican-American War in 1848. National Archives and Records Administration, Records Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77: Civil Works Map File; Q-38.

Back Flag of the Republic of Texas, from *WikiCommons*.



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